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Marginalia Manichaica

Bremmer, Jan

Published in:
Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik

IMPORTANT NOTE: You are advised to consult the publisher's version (publisher's PDF) if you wish to cite from it. Please check the document version below.

Document Version
Publisher's PDF, also known as Version of record

Publication date:
1980

[Link to publication in University of Groningen/UMCG research database](#)

Citation for published version (APA):
Bremmer, J. (1980). Marginalia Manichaica. *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*, 39, 29-34.

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MARGINALIA MANICHAICA

One of the fascinating aspects of the Manichaean movement is its indebtedness to so many cultures.^{*)} Hellenistic, Jewish, Syriac, Mesopotamian and Persian culture – all in their own way have contributed to the so impressive construction of Mani. Given this variety of influences it should not be surprising that there is still room left for some additional observations on the Cologne Mani Codex (CMC) after the splendid edition and commentary by Professors Albert Henrichs and Ludwig Koenen¹⁾ (henceforth: the edd.).

CMC 6f. The problem of the talking trees has now been fully discussed by A. Henrichs, "Thou shalt not kill a tree": Greek, Manichaean and Indian Tales, *BASP* 16 (1979), 85-108; add to his dossier *Plin. NH. 17.243...C.Epidii commentarii, in quibus arbores locutae quoque reperiuntur.*

17, 12ff. τὸ εὐειδέστατον καὶ μέγιστον. The edd. (in n.41) rightly point to the traditional element of beauty in this epiphany. Yet, their parallels are slightly confusing, since these stress the combination youth and beauty, which indeed occurs in CMC 56, 12f where the angel is described as περικαλλῆς καὶ ὠραία, whereas in this passage we find the other frequent combination of supernatural stature and beauty, cf. N.J. Richardson on *h. Dem.* 188-190.

32, 3. The uncertainty of Mani is relieved by the appearance of the Twin. This appearance conforms to a conventional pattern in which a vision resolves religious doubts or problems such as happened in the case of Apollonius of Tyana, Proclus and the magician Thessalus who threatened to commit suicide unless he received a vision in his dreams. For these (and other) examples, cf. A.D. Nock, *Essays on Religion and the Ancient World* (Oxford 1972), I, 368-374; A.J. Festugière, *Études de religion grecque et hellénistique* (Paris 1972), 276f; J.Z. Smith, *Map is not Territory* (Leiden 1978), 175f; add *Passio SS Perpetuae et Felicitatis* c.4.1.

49, 4f. Neither the edd. nor the literature quoted by them raise the question as to why Balsamos calls himself 'the greatest angel of the light'. I suggest that this special claim is due to the prominent position of the god Ba'alshamēn in the Syriac world, cf.

*) My thanks are due to Theo Korteweg for his helpful comments.

1) *ZPE* 19 (1975), 1-85 and 32 (1978), 87-199.

H.J.W. Drijvers, *The Religion of Palmyra = Iconography of Religions* XV, 15 (Leiden 1975), 13-17; J. Teixidor, *The Pagan God* (Princeton 1977), *passim*.

53, 14ff, ἀνήνεγκέ με εἰς τὸ ὄρος. Sethel receives his vision on the top of a mountain, a traditional place for a revelation, which also occurs elsewhere in the Mani Codex (CMC 53, 15; 55, 20), cf. Moses on Mount Sinai; Mark 9.2; Luke 9.28; Corp. Herm. XIII.1; Athan. vita Antonii 84; E. Peterson, *Frühkirche, Judentum und Gnosis* (Rom etc. 1959), 273; W.C. Grese, *Corpus Hermeticum XIII and Early Christian Literature* (Leiden 1979), 63.

54, 11ff. The connection between the North and mountains is an archaic Babylonian feature. Already Gilgamesh travels to the 'Mountain range of Mashu' (Gilgameš, IX.ii.9), which was situated in the North (IX.v.38). The same theme still is apparent in the Book of Enoch, cf. J.T. Milik, *The Book of Enoch* (Oxford 1976), 29f.

56, 4, cὺν ἡσυχίαι. The edd. compare the 'Türöffnung'²⁾ miracle, but it is not the automatic opening of the doors which is stressed here but the lack of noise. The absence of noise is also stressed in the rapture of Enos, cf. CMC 53,2 cὺν μεγίστη ἡσυχίαι and 53, 16 ἐν δυνάμει ἡσυχίᾳ. Silence and stillness of nature are traditional features of the divine epiphany, cf. E. Ba. 1084 (and Dodds ad loc.); Ar. Av. 777f; Verg. Aen. 2.203; D.H. 8.56.3; K.J. McKay, CQ N.S. 17 (1967), 188; A.M. di Nola, *Antropologia religiosa* (Firenze 1974), 173-199.

70, 10ff. G.J.D. Aalders, ZPE 34 (1979), 29 has convincingly demonstrated the topos character of these words; see also the hagiographical examples collected by Festugière, *Etudes*, 280f.

79, 1, ἐκρίψας. The edd. translate "der...ins Meer geworfen hatte", but since the sea is a "Chiffre für die körperliche Welt und die Materie", it is better to translate with 'hinausgeworfen', as e.g. in Soph. OT. 1411/2 θαλάσσιον ἐκρίψατ'. This negative valuation of the sea fits in well with the negative ideas about the sea in Jewish, Mesopotamian and Greek culture, cf. A.J. Wensinck, *The Ocean in the Literature of the Western Semites* (Amsterdam 1918); O. Eissfeldt, *Kleine Schriften* III (Tübingen 1966), 256-264; O. Kaiser, *Die mythische Bedeutung des Meeres in Aegypten, Ugarit und Israel* (Berlin 1962²⁾);

2) For the 'Nachleben' of the 'Türöffnung' miracle in Western hagiography, see F. Graus, *Die Gewalt bei den Anfängen des Feudalismus und die 'Gefangenenbefreiungen' der merowingischen Hagiographie*, *Jahrb. f. Wirtschaftsgeschichte* 1961, 1, 61-156, esp. 99-119.

D.Wachsmuth, Πόμπιμος ὁ δαίμων. Untersuchung zu den antiken Sakralhandlungen bei Seereisen (Diss. Berlin 1967), 202-210. The same negative judgement ruled in Western Europe until recent centuries, cf. J.Delumeau, *La peur en Occident* (Paris 1978), 31-42.

81, 11f, κύβαλα. For epigraphical references of this word, cf. J./L.Robert, *Bull.Ep.* 1977, no.423.

81, 12f, καὶ τοῦ σώματος μιάρότης. The edd. treat this as an additional category. However, since blood, gall (surely rather surprising in this context) etc. are also impure, it seems better to take καὶ as 'and in general' cf. W.J.Verdenius, *Mnem.* IV 7 (1954), 38; G.J. de Vries on Plato *Phdr.* 246e. This negative attitude toward the (waste) products of the body is typical for groups of people with narrow social constraints, cf. M.Douglas, *Purity and Danger* (London 1966).

85, 12, οἰκοδομηθὲν ἕστη. Besides the Greek tradition (*Xen.Mem.* 1.4.11) quoted by the edd., there may well have been a Jewish one about walking upright as typically human. At least in the Middle Ages Rabbinic sources picture the dead as walking on their hands which implies that normal living people walk upright, cf. L.Ginzberg, *Legends of the Jews V* (Philadelphia 1925), 263 n.301; S.Lieberman, *After Life in Early Rabbinic Literature*, in Harry Austryn Wolfson Jubilee Volume II (Jerusalem 1965, 495-532), 499.

86, 21ff. ἀναστήσεται τις ἡθεός. The edd. rightly compare 1 Clem.3,3 ἐπηγέρθησαν...οἱ νέοι ἐπὶ τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους. The idea of the revolt of the young against the older men evidently derives from the Greek world - 1 Clem.3,3 refers to Corinth! - where such rebellions were a frequently occurring phenomenon, cf. Plato *Leg.* 636b, 682d; *Arist.Pol.* 5.7.12; *Pol.* 4.53.7; *D.S.* 18.46.3; P.Roussel, *Etude sur le principe d'ancienneté dans le monde hellénistique*, *Mémoires de l'Institut de France* 43,2 (1951, 123-227), 204-214.

The edd. (in n.223) compare the fact that the Antichrist is sometimes called 'young' or a παιδίον. Against this comparison two arguments can be adduced. Firstly, Jesus also very regularly appears as a child, cf. *Acta Andreae et Matthiae* 18; *Acta Petri et Andreae* 16 and K.Aland, *Neutestamentliche Entwürfe* (München 1979), 215 who concludes that this appearance is as yet unexplained. Moreover, the polymorphy of the Antichrist is also testified for Jesus, cf. *Acta Joh.* 89; *Acta Petri* 21; *Acta Thomae* 42 where Jesus at the same time appears as an old man, a youth or a boy. See also Peterson, *Frühkirche*, 203f. Secondly, a young man is something different from a παιδίον, and not even in the 'Farben der apokalyptischen Endzeit' do the rebels appear as 'children'.

87, 20ff, 'Ελληνικὸν] ἄρτον φαγεῖν. The edd. have dedicated an interesting discussion to the vexed question of the baptists' bread. Some additions may be made. Regarding the possibility of barley-bread, it should be noted that the Jews, like the Greeks, too held barley-bread in contempt, cf. Jos. Ant.5.219 πάντων τῶν σπερμάτων τὸ καλούμενον κρίθινον εὐτελέστατον, and (with a rich collection of Jewish and Greco-Roman material) J. Wettstein, *Novum Testamentum Graecum* (Amsterdam 1752), I, 876f.

Because of the coarse quality of the grain barley-bread was preferred by the Spartans (Plut. Cle. 16) and ascetics such as the Pythagoreans,³⁾ Diogenes (Dio Chr.6.62) and the Christian Julianus (Theodoretus h.rel.2.2) and Macedonius (ibidem 13.3). It may also be relevant to note that Babylonia produced more barley than any other region (Strabo 16.1.14).

Regarding the possibility of dates, it is exactly in Babylon that dried dates are offered to Apollonius of Tyana (Philostr. VA.1.21), although in conjunction with bread. In Palestine too we find a diet of bread and dates, but it seems that here we can also find an ascetic diet of λάχανα and dates without dried bread, cf. E. Patlagean, *Pauvreté économique et pauvreté sociale à Byzance, 4^e-7^e siècles* (Paris/Den Haag 1977), 45.

88, 4. Which vegetables will have been forbidden? Considering the attitude of the ascetics towards πνεύματα (CMC 81, 12 and edd. ad loc.) one would at least expect the interdiction of leguminous plants.

88, 2ff. The baptists' abstention of drinking wine⁴⁾ and eating meat deserves some further comments. When we agree with anthropologists⁵⁾ and folklorists⁶⁾ that dietary habits and rules are important in setting people apart from the rest of society, one cannot

3) Antiphanes fr. 135, 226K; Porph. VP. 34; Iamb. VP. 98.

4) For the Manichaean abstention of wine (the edd. in n.223), see also Palladius hist. laus. p.12, 99 Bartelink.

5) M. Douglas, *Purity and Danger* (London 1966) and *Implicit Meanings* (London 1975), 249-275; J. Twigg, *Food for thought: purity and vegetarianism*, *Religion* 9 (1979), 13-35.

6) S.A. Tokarew, *Zur Methodik der ethnographischen Erforschung der Nahrung*, in *Studia ethnographica et folkloristica in honorem Béla Gunda* (Debrecen 1971), 297-302; U. Tolksdorf et al., *Ernährung und soziale Situation*, in *Ethnologische Nahrungsforschung/ Ethnological Food Research = Kansatieteelinen arkisto* 26 (Helsinki 1975), 277-291.

fail to agree with Marcel Detienne⁷⁾ and Fritz Graf⁸⁾ that there hardly could have been a more effective way of isolating people than the prohibition of wine and meat in a society in which sacrifice with its accompanying eating of meat and the drinking of wine were two of the most important constituents of the cultural order. The Greeks even affirmed their own identity by ascribing the absence of wine and meat - or another opposition: the drinking of unmixed wine and/or eating of raw meat and cannibalism - to the 'Randvölker' par excellence, the Scythians⁹⁾ and the Indians.¹⁰⁾

It is therefore not surprising to find the combined abstention of wine and meat in such diverse marginal groups as the Pythagoreans,¹¹⁾ Orphics,¹²⁾ Cynics,¹³⁾ the Jewish Therapeutae (Philo vita contemp. 4.37), James, the brother of Jesus (Eus. h.e.2.23.5), the Christian hermits in Egypt (Athanas. vita Antonii 7), the Encratites (Hipp. haer.8.20.1) and other heretics.¹⁴⁾ There is, however, another aspect to be considered. Epiphanius (haer.26.4.3) describes a copious meal of a gnostic sect which consisted of wine and meat, and he notes that even the poor could participate in this meal. Thus the abstention of wine and meat is also a sign of poverty, as could have been expected in the case of the ascetic baptists.

7) M. Detienne, *Dionysos mis à mort* (Paris 1977), 135-160; see also M. Detienne-J.-P. Vernant (eds.), *La cuisine du sacrifice* (Paris 1979).

8) F. Graf, *Milch, Honig und Wein*, in *Perennitas*. Un volume per Angelo Brelich (Rome 1980).

9) Scythians as waterdrinkers: Antiphanes fr. 35K, Athenaeus 10.428e. Drinkers of unmixed wine: Anacreon fr. 356 (b) 3 Page; Hdt. 6.48.1; Achaïos TGF 20 F 9; Plato Leg. 637e; Chamaeleon fr. 10 Wehrli; Ael. VH.2.41. Vegetarians: Ephoros FGH 70 F 42; Nic. Dam. FGH 90 F 104.

10) Indians as water-drinkers: Strabo 15.2.22. Vegetarians: J. Haussleiter, *Der Vegetarismus in der Antike*, RGVI 24 (Berlin 1935), 44-53. The Indians gradually replaced the Scythians as the 'Randvolk' par excellence and functioned as a 'horizon mental' until the end of the Renaissance in Western Europe, cf. H. Gregor, *Das Indienbild des Abendlandes* (Wien 1964); J. Le Goff, *Pour un autre Moyen Age* (Paris 1977), 280-298.

11) Pythagoras as waterdrinker: Clemens paed. 2.1.11; DL.8.13; Palladius hist. laus. p. 12, 98 Bartelink; Iamb. VP. 107. Pythagoreans: Aristophanes fr. 10, 13K; Alexis fr. 198, 220, 221, 378; the Pythagorising Apollonius of Tyana (Philostr. VA. 1.8.21) and Getans (Strabo 7.3.4, 11); Vegetarians: Haussleiter, op. cit., 97ff.

12) W. Burkert, *Griechische Religion der archaischen und klassischen Epoche* (Stuttgart 1977), 448.

13) Diog. Ep. 37.4; DL. 6.104.

14) Cf. Tert. de cultu fem. 2.9.7; Didasc. Ap. 6.11.2 Funk; Cyr. Hier. catech. 4.27.

98, 1f. The connection of δίκαιος and ὅσιος (the edd. in n.293) already occurs in the New Testament, cf. Luke 1.75; Eph.4.24; 1 Thess.2.10; Rev.16.5. Compare also the name of the curious godhead Θεῖον Ὁσίον καὶ Δίκαιον, cf. G. Petzl, Festschrift F.K.Dörner, EPRO 66 (Leiden 1978), II, 757 (with all references).

Rijksuniversiteit Utrecht

Jan Bremmer